

will mean 6,494 households will not be served by LIHEAP, and 403,000 meals for seniors will not be served.

This is a get-well amendment for many of our colleagues who have consistently voted against these education programs. Please, as good as it sounds, don't cut these valuable resources for NIH and other education programs to fund the afterschool programs as suggested by the Senator from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. May I say for the record I thought it was my prerogative to oppose the amendment, but I would like to incorporate by reference everything the Senator from Illinois said as if I had said it. He did a good job.

REGAINING FOCUS ON THE WAR ON TERRORISM

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, tomorrow the Nation will bow our heads in prayer as we remember those who perished 2 years ago. As we close our eyes to remember those who perished in the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon and in the quiet field in Pennsylvania, we cannot help but recall the graphic images of the attacks that shocked the American psyche, the smoke, the fire, the pain, the falling towers. The courage displayed on television sets on September 11, 2001, brought all Americans to the scene of those attacks.

Our Nation united to fight those who were responsible for those terrible acts. Since then, our Armed Forces swept through the rugged terrain of Afghanistan, deposing a government that directly aided Osama bin Laden in his mission to attack America by any means at hand.

In the days following the attacks, Congress acted swiftly to provide essential funds for this military response. The appropriations committees in both Houses acted without delay. But we also included increased moneys for homeland security and the reconstruction of New York and the Pentagon.

But today our fight against terrorism has lost a good deal of its focus. Our homeland security efforts are underfunded. The Department of Homeland Security is a bureaucratic catastrophe. The White House has prioritized tax cuts over protecting our airliners and securing our ports.

Through carefully worded rhetoric, the administration has morphed the image of America's most wanted man from Osama bin Laden to Saddam Hussein. It is as if the President has forgotten the name of the mastermind of the attacks that killed 3,031 in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001; the attacks that killed 17 sailors on the USS *Cole* on October 12, 2000; and the attacks that killed 224 U.S. and foreign nationals in bombings of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on August 7, 1998. The name of that man is not Saddam Hussein. It is Osama bin Laden, the elusive terrorist

who this administration so rarely bothers to mention by name anymore.

The President has now stated that the war in Iraq is the central front on the war against terrorism. But it was our invasion of Iraq that has turned Iraq into a staging ground for daily terrorist attacks against our occupation forces. If we are serious about protecting our country from terrorism, it seems to me that the central front should be the war on al-Qaida.

If we are serious about protecting our country from terrorism, should not the central front be the war on al-Qaida? For that matter, isn't the violence between Israelis and Palestinians actually the root of much of the terrorism in the world? Why isn't reaching a lasting peace agreement between those two peoples the central front on fighting international terrorism?

But at the White House, the subject of terrorism now means the subject of our invasion of Iraq. The President waves the bloody shirt of 9/11, and then subtly shifts the conversation to Iraq. The only problem is that the President's attempts to tie Saddam Hussein to the 9/11 attacks have no basis in fact. There has been no evidence of such found to date. By speaking of al-Qaida in one breath and Iraq in the next, the President has devised a construct for confusing the American people about the real threat to this country. And his strategy has worked. According to a Washington Post poll, 7 in 10 Americans believe that Saddam Hussein was behind the September 11 attacks. That was not the case. There is no evidence that that was the case.

Amidst the confusion of the American people, it was the stated policy of White House adviser Karl Rove to use the war against terrorism for partisan electoral advantage. The White House rode that political bandwagon right through Congress in October of 2002, securing a war resolution in the weeks just before a major election. The bandwagon then bypassed the United Nations, alienating our friends and allies, and charged right into Baghdad, powered by a national security strategy that brought the first use of preemptive war in the history of our Nation.

Soon Congress, we understand, will be formally presented with a request for \$87 billion in additional funding for the war. The White House would prefer to call this massive spending bill the "terrorism supplemental." Don't fall for that, I say to my colleagues. I say to the American people, don't fall for that. The American people should not be misled by these word games. The spending in this proposal has little to do with protecting the American people from terrorism.

This request should be called what it is: the second Iraq supplemental appropriations bill in less than 6 months. It is a budget-busting, deficit-enhancing \$87 billion on top of the \$103.3 billion in additional funds that Congress has already provided to the Pentagon since September 11, 2001. Including this new

spending for Iraq, the budget deficit for next year can be expected to exceed \$550 billion. How are we going to pay for this mistake that we have made in the Middle East?

I expect to support the funds that are needed for the safety of our troops, but I will not rubberstamp every spending request that comes down the pike. This \$87 billion package needs to be carefully examined. Congress is not an ATM that will spit out cash on a moment's notice.

I have questions. I am sure that my colleagues, most of them, certainly, or many of them, have questions about the \$20 billion in nation-building funds that are contained, or will be contained, if we understand correctly what we read in the newspapers and what we hear in other areas of the media with respect to the President's request. The formal request has not reached Congress as yet, of course. But initial indications show that the administration intends to go beyond repairing the damage to Iraq's infrastructure and attempt to build a modernized country from the ground up.

Congress needs to ask questions about this plan. There has actually never been a debate in Congress about postwar Iraq. Before we approve of this spending, we must know how long this nation-building plan will take and how the costs will be shared among our allies.

I have some questions about the funds that will be requested for our military. The administration announced this week that it is extending the deployments of our National Guard and our Reserves in Iraq. Many of these citizen-soldiers are already exhausted from back-to-back foreign deployments. The National Guard cannot perform its important homeland security missions if it is half a world away. We are headed towards serious problems with recruiting and retention if this administration thinks that it can keep the men and women of the Guard and Reserve away from their families and their jobs for 12 months, 15 months, or even 18 months on each deployment.

Most importantly, this \$87 billion Iraq supplemental—remember, it is not a terrorism supplemental, it has nothing to do with terrorism here in this country—this Iraq supplemental could be the first installment in what the President's advisers describe as a "generational commitment" to building democracy in the Middle East. I do not recall a single word in the President's case for war in which he said that the war in Iraq would be the beginning of a decades-long engagement in that volatile part of the world. The American people ought to hear an explanation of what it means to have a "generational commitment" to nation building and perhaps regime change in the Middle East.

Tomorrow, the American people will pause to remember those who lost their lives 2 years ago. I will long remember that fateful day, as will every Member

of this Senate and every person within the range of my hearing. I cannot forget the toll exacted on Americans in those attacks, nor will I forget the courage of the firefighters and the police who rushed into burning buildings, nor will I forget those ordinary people on that airliner who fought back against its hijackers. Those people very likely saved this Capitol from another terrible attack, and, along with the Capitol, saved the lives of many of us who are in this Chamber today.

But when Members of Congress return from the memorial services, we have serious work to do in addressing the crisis in Iraq and in our fight against terrorism at home. We will soon be presented with a request for \$87 billion to carry out the administration's occupation and nation-building plans in Iraq.

Let us take a good look at those plans. Let us be prepared to ask questions about them. There is no reason why this request will have to go sailing through Congress in a day or a day and a half or 2 days or 3. We need to ask questions. The administration should be prepared to make its case and be prepared to answer questions.

It is not disrespectful to ask questions. It is not unpatriotic to ask questions. Members of Congress should not be intimidated. They should not be cowed. They should not be afraid to ask questions. The people of America are not here to ask questions. The students in our schools are not here to ask questions. We are here to ask questions.

Let us not act with the same haste and impatience that led our country to begin that war nearly 6 months ago.

REMEMBERING 9/11

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, on the eve of the second anniversary of 9/11, I feel compelled to take the floor and share with my colleagues some of my thoughts. As a New Yorker, of course, as somebody who lives within sight and looks every morning, when I am home in New York, out my window at the empty space that once was occupied by the twin towers, this is something that never escapes my mind and the mind of every New Yorker. It doesn't escape the mind of every American, and probably doesn't escape the mind of just about every citizen of the world. Because 9/11 changed us in many ways, and we can never go back. But hopefully we can learn from it.

I would like to address at least my thoughts to three different areas: Those of the families and victims and those who rushed to help them; the city and the State of New York; and how it has affected us as a Nation.

First, of course, we think of the families. The day after that horrible terrorist attack occurred, I asked Americans to wear the flag or display the flag out their windows. I put on this very flag. I wear it every day in memory of those who were lost and, God

willing, I will wear it every day for the rest of my life in their memory. We think of their bravery, the bravery, of course, of the 343 firefighters who were lost, the many police officers, Port Authority personnel, and the first responders who were lost.

We think of the bravery of average citizens. There was just a story in our New York newspapers about two men who braved the fires and braved the smoke and created a passageway and saved the lives of perhaps a dozen and then went back up to try and save more and perished. In a very real sense, those heroes will live with us forever, like the heroes at Bunker Hill and the heroes at Gettysburg and the heroes on D-Day and the heroes of all the great battles our Nation has faced. Many of those heroes are civilians—whether they be police, fire, EMT, or just ordinary citizens. That shows you how our world has changed because we are all on the front lines.

We think of their families as well; the hole in their hearts will never heal. It is not simply the loss, although that is overwhelming and preponderant. It is that they were taken in such an act of bitter meanness and nastiness and atrocity. We have to do everything for them. We have to be with them spiritually. We have to provide for them, and we have to, in a sense, sanctify the memory of those who were lost for whom they mourn every day.

I can think of the faces in front of me right now of some of the people I knew—a brave firefighter, a friend who led a company, a high school classmate with whom I played basketball—all gone, simply because some vicious, terrible people thought they had a deranged message. We will never forget the families. And if you ask the families and ask the victims what they want us to do, they would want us to keep our resolve. And keep our resolve we must.

New Yorkers, Americans, good citizens of the world must keep their resolve. As for my city, we are still wounded. Still, every day, so many of us look up at the skyline and see the empty place. People who go on the subway or get in the car or just walk down the street every so often say, Could it happen again? Our city is still wounded. We have suffered large economic loss, but we have suffered far greater personal loss. But the amazing thing about New York is that we are strong, we are vital, and we rebound.

I am so proud of New Yorkers. I was proud of New Yorkers on the day it happened. Many people rose to the occasion. I always think of the man who owned a sneaker store. He stood outside the store and gave all the women who were fleeing the World Trade Center sneakers. He said, "What size are you?" and he gave them a pair of sneakers because it would be hard to walk in their heels. Those acts of generosity have continued.

The fortitude of New Yorkers has also continued. Battery Park City, a

residential area by the World Trade Center, which emptied out is full again. Businesses are beginning to return. A leading law firm came back to downtown and opened last week. So the plans proceed apace. Because we are New Yorkers, of course, there are some disputes, but the plans proceed apace for how we should rebuild—both remembering those who were lost and also remembering that terrorists tried to destroy the commercial greatness of our city. We are going to rebuild commercially as well. I was so proud of the polls that showed that more New Yorkers said they wanted to stay in New York after 9/11 than before 9/11. That is the spirit of the city. It is a great city.

It is the spirit of the whole New York area because there were people who lived in the suburbs who rushed in to help, and they all suffered losses. It is the spirit of our whole State, where people from Buffalo in the north and every point in between rushed to New York City and helped us, and we try to remember to help them.

We are grateful that the Nation has remembered us. The money we worked on to bring back to New York is being spent wisely and being spent well. We are not rushing to spend it. Every so often, there is a newspaper article that says not all of it has been spent. Of course not. But the fact that the President—and I give him credit. We disagree on many issues, but he stood by New York and he remembered what we needed and never broke his word. This Senate and the House, both Democrats and Republicans, again, had disputes about how to do it, but the Congress was very generous to our city. We may come back and need more, of course, but the generosity is real, remembered, and appreciated by New Yorkers.

Finally, what did we learn on 9/11? We learned that the very technology that blessed our lives and accounted for so much of the prosperity we have seen in the last two decades has a dark and evil underside; namely, that small groups of bad people can get ahold of that technology and do tremendous damage in our country. You can be in a cave in Afghanistan, and if you have a wireless connection to the Internet, you can learn as much about America as many of us know. The sad fact is, if you took 200 people anywhere in the world, or maybe a thousand, and injected them with the "evil virus" and they would decide to fanatically devote themselves to hurting America for the next 5 years, the odds are too high that they could succeed. But we are beginning to respond to that challenge.

The war against terrorism is not a 1-, 2-, or 3-year phenomenon. It is going to be a 30-, 40-, or 50-year phenomenon. Today is not the day to bring up the disputes that we all have about this issue, but it is rather to say that it is brand new, and every one of us should walk humbly before proffering solutions because in a certain sense, we have no experience pool. Mistakes will be made.